

SOME
ORIGINAL LETTERS
OF

Bishop *BEDELL*,

CONCERNING

The Steps taken toward a Reformation of Religion at *VENICE*,

Upon Occasion of the

Quarrel between That STATE,

AND

The Pope *PAUL V.*

D U B L I N :

Printed by and for GEORGE FAULKNER,
M D C C X L I I .



TO THE
Most Reverend Father in God,

H U G H,

Lord Archbishop of

A R M A G H,

Primate and Metropolitan of All

I R E L A N D.

My LORD,

I MOST humbly present
to your GRACE these
few Sheets, as they contain
some Thoughts of Bishop
BEDELL, (a Name suffici-
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ently

DEDICATION.

ently known) which were esteemed worth preserving by the Great Archbishop USSHER ; and as they reveal some of the Mysteries of Popish Iniquity, their Publication may not be unreasonable at this Time ; when those Powers are as industrious as ever to destroy true Religion and her Worshipers.

Your GRACE's Love to our Country expressed by Acts of universal Charity to a Degree of Profuseness, your inflexible Adherence
to

DEDICATION.

to her true Interests, to a Neglect of your Peace, and Contempt of popular Fame, the Idol of great Minds ; Your unshaken Constancy in Defence of Civil and Religious Liberty force Applause, and are become the Theme of every Tongue : But, as these are the only Truths You do not care to hear, I forbear to indulge myself a Pleasure at the Expence of being disagreeable to You.

Give me Leave, my Lord, to take this publick Oppor-

DEDICATION.

Opportunity of expressing
that high Esteem I have
for your Person and Vir-
tue ; that GOD may long
preserve both for the Good
of this Church and State,
is the constant Prayer of,

My LORD,

Your GRACE's most Humble

and most Obedient Servant,

EDWARD HUDSON.

The PREFACE.

THE following Letters were found among Primate Usher's Manuscripts in the MSS. Library of Trinity-College near Dublin, transcribed and corrected with great Care, and signed W. Bedell, as in the Edition.

They were written from Venice by Mr. Bedell, then Chaplain to Sir Henry Wotton, Embassadour from King James the First to that Republick, and were directed to Mr. Adam Newton, Præceptor to Prince Henry, afterward Dean of ~~Salisbury~~ ^{Salisbury}: And contain a Narrative of the Transactions undertaken toward a Reformation of Religion in the State, with a particular Account of their Ecclesiastical Constitution.

They abound with many curious, uncommon and useful Observations, which discover the great Ability and deep Penetration

The PREFACE.

tration of the Author, and clear up some received Errors in History, which reflect upon the Wisdom of the King, and the Integrity and Prudence of the Embassador. The World hath been troubled of late with so many Books of idle, impertinent, or scandalous Letters, stuffed with Matters of mere private Concernment, of no Use, unless to propagate the Follies and Vices of the Party, that the Editor thought himself obliged to inform the Reader that these Letters were published with a different View, and relate only to Matters of a publick Nature, and are therefore to be regarded as a Piece of useful History.

ORI-

ORIGINAL LETTERS

O F

Bishop *B E D E L L.*

LETTER I.

NEITHER my Forgetfulness of
your almost last Words at my
parting from the Court, Right
Reverend and Worshipful Sir, when
you required that in this Absence from
my Country, now and then you might
hear from me; nor the Neglect of so
small an Office, especially being now the
only Means I have, or perhaps ever
shall, to shew my Thankfulness for
your undeserved Love, in the Debt
whereof an honest Mind would most of
all eschew to dye, hath caused my For-
bearance to write unto you hitherto:

B

But

But as God, who best knows my Heart, is my best Witness, chiefly the Desire of performing this Duty in such sort, as might be worthy your View, hath been the Bar to my perpetual Desire of the Performance itself; and as to my Manner, although from the Beginning I despaired thereof, yet the Trust of your Acceptation of my Endeavour in good Part, made me ready enough. It was fit Matter that I expected; fit, I say, for me to write of, and to you: For to write of ordinary Occurrences, and the News of the Piazza, some Merchant, or Merchant's Factor might fitlier, and should much better do it than I: And as for Matters of State, with such like Affairs subordinate to that End, I accounted, it would be no small Folly to seek to give you Intelligence, who have it there daily at Court, more full and certain from this and all other Places, than myself.

The State of the Church here, and of Religion in what Terms, it either stands at present, or is like to stand hereafter, that I might with some Observation

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servation enquire and relate, I thought it would not be unfit for me, nor unwelcome to you; and of both, as far as I have been able to inform myself, I will now endeavour to give you an Account.

First, for the Church, which Name (I know not by what Right) by universal Custom and long Prescription we Clergymen have engrossed to ourselves: The Signiory of *Venice* hath not any one Ecclesiastical Person, to whom the rest are subordinate; for, although there be a Patriarch here, who also stileth himself of *Dalmatia*, yet is this but a Name of Honour; he is not so much as an Arch-bishop according to the ancient Account, but only Bishop of *Venice*; neither when he calleth his Synod, do any other but the Clergy of this City meet; the other Cities of this Estate, as are *Padua*, *Vincenza*, *Verona*, *Brescia* are distinct Jurisdictions, and some appertaining to the Arch-bishop of *Milan*, which is the self-same Inconvenience that was found in our Island, while the Bishops of *Scotland*, were un-

der the Arch-bishop of *York*. It is true, that some one or two Towns and Islands this Patriarch hath under him in *Dalmatia*, which are Episcopal Sees, and the Revenue of the ancient Patriarch of *Aquileia* for a great Part, a Town now almost desolate of Inhabitants: And what by that and his other Means here, he receiveth yearly 13000 Ducats of Revenue; which is the Cause that this Place is still filled with some one of the Nobility; and to be sure the Pope should not encroach upon them in the Vacancy, they have used always to have a new Elect, beside him who occupieth the Place, in a Readiness. This Man is now said to be a sickly and weak Man, neither greatly stirreth he in the Church Affairs; and his Weakness hitherto hath served the *Venetians* for an Excuse, why he should not go to *Rome* for his Confirmation; which one only of his Predecessors, for Fear of the Arms of *Spain*, hath done: Although if this Excuse should fail, they would soon find another, or two, ere they would send him.

Under

Under the Patriarch, at least in Opinion and Appearance, is the College of Inquisition, which is composed of the Pope's Nuncio, who is ordinarily Resident here, and hath a fair Palace, properly appertaining to his Place, of the Gift of the Signiory, and of the Patriarch his Vicar-General, and Commissary, two Gentlemen of *Venice*, and an Inquisitor of the *Dominicans*: These Seven have the Censure of Books to be imprinted, and Audition of the Crime of Heresy, although with this Moderation, that no Man born out of *Italy* is so much as called in Question by them, unless he give great Scandal. Next are the ordinary Priests and Curates of the several Churches of the City, in the Choice of whom, not here only, but as I have been told by those that have Reason to know, throughout *Italy* it is aimed at, that they be such, as they are sure, to be either no Sticklers (for which they take a good Order, by chusing no great Clerks) or else sound for the present State, whereto they are also obliged by Dispensations

for many Benefices and Church Dignities: and generally these, if they will needs be preaching (which is but a Work of Supererogation) must be licensed so to do; and are enjoined for the Rule and Square of their Doctrine the Catechism of the Council of *Trent*, which is by the Patriarch's Commandment enjoined to be taught also in Schools, and by all Means made familiar to the People; being set forth in the *Italian* Tongue, with great Indulgence to those that teach and learn it: Thus is the Office of preaching wholly in a manner devolved to the Fryars, and when they were there, to the * Je-
suits; of which last I can say nothing, since it was not my ill Fortune to find them here at my coming. Only there came to my Hands certain Rules of theirs, which it seems were observed among them in their Preaching, where-
of there were found in their College
of

* Who were banished before his Arrival, for their Violence against the State in the Quarrel with the Pope.

of *Padua*, when they parted thence; above four hundred Copies written all after one manner: You shall receive them here withall by this Bearer, and certain Notes added to them, which if you shall think good to communicate to others, I desire it may be concealed that they came from me: By them you may make Conjecture of the Jesuits Sermons. As for the Fryars which I have heard here, their whole Intentions seem to be, either to delight, or to move; as for teaching, they know not what it means: But to hear their strange wresting of the Holy Scriptures, to see the Fooleries of their Idolatry to the little Crucifix that stands at their Elbow; the Anticks of their Gesture, more than Player or Fencer-like, their Vehemency, of which a Man may well use that of the Poet——* *Magno Conatu magnas Nugas*; it is, I assure you, Sir, a Matter of great Patience; and for my Part, I have found myself better satisfied, at least-wise less cloyed with

* Solemn and earnest in Trifles.

with the Sermons of the *Jews* than with theirs: And in one thing the very *Jews* contemn them, and not undeservedly, as Merchants of God's Word; for in the midst of their Sermons, still the Preacher makes some pretty Occasion or other to fall into the common Place of moving them to Alms, and three or four with long Canes and a Bag at the End, skim over the whole Auditory, and the People, generally not undevout, being taken in a good Mood, while the Impression is yet new, are not unliberal: Out of this the Preacher hath his Share, the rest goes to the Collectors or Guardians of the Fraternity or other School that heard him.

And because I am fallen into the Mention of the People, that you may at once understand the present Face of Religion here; if ever there were any City whereunto the Epithet St. *Luke* gives to *Athens* (* which he calleth *Κατεδωλν*) might again agree, this is it. Such a Multitude of Idolatrous Statues,

* Acts 17 C. 16 V. wholly given to Idolatry.

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tues, Pictures, Reliques, in every Corner not of their Churches only, but Houses, Chambers, Shops, yea, the very Streets; and in the Country the High-ways and Hedges swarm with them; the Sea itself is not free, they are in the Ships, Boats, and Water-marks; and as for their Slavery and Subjection to them, it is such as that of *Paganism* came not up to the half of it; whereof to give you such a Taste as may be also for some Cause of it, no sooner do their Children almost creep out of their Cradles, but they are taught to be Idolaters, they have certain Childish Processions, wherein are carried about certain Puppets made for their Lady; and some Boy, who is a better Clerk than his Fellows, goes before them with the Words of the Popish Litany, where the rest of the Fry following make up the Choir. A great Tyrant is Custom, and a great Advantage hath the Discipline which is sucked in with the Mother's Milk, but to convey Superstition into the Minds of that tender Age, under the
Form

Form of Sport and Play, which it esteemed more than Meat and Drink, is a deeper Point of Policy, and such as wise Men would perhaps profitably suck somewhat out of for Imitation to a right-er End. But one thing certainly they go beyond us in, and that is their Liberality, and Cost in their solemn setting forth of their Service, and adorning their Churches, and especially at their Feast Days; wherein if they pass Measure also, as possibly they do, yet is that Extream less exceptionable and more cureable than our Beggary; the Scorn of our Religion: Not only popular Conceits, but the most Part of Men, of whatsoever Quality, are led much more by Shews than Substance; and what a Disproportion is it to come from ours so unhoneſtly kept, for in building we generally go beyond them, to the glittering Churches and Monasteries of *Italy*, you may easily imagine: Truly, Sir, I have heard some wise Men account this as no small Cause of the Perversion of so many of our young Gentlemen, that come into these Parts.

To

To return to the People here, as they are thus abandoned to Idolatry, so is that of the Apostle verified in them, that they receive the Recompense of their Error in themselves, being given over to all manner of Uncleaness, for a Punishment of that Spiritual Whoredom: And indeed that Vice is here in all Sorts, not only without Measure, but without Shame, wherein they are the Ring-leaders who profess Religion; and even at this present, in a Cloyster of Votaries not far from this House, the Report goes, that there are no less than four with Child; this Fruit hath the worldly Wisdom and painted Holyness of these Extollers of Virginity, and Depravers of God's Ordinance of Marriage: To conclude this Point, I cannot easily resolve whether this People be more deeply drowned in Ignorance or in Sin, which, each indeed being the Effect and Cause of other, both be so great, as if it be true that is said

—— Things mend when they are at the worst; it cannot in reason be far off, that God should by his Judgment

or

or Mercy work some Alteration, and that the same was rather like to be to Conversion than Subversion, the late Controversy with the * Pope gave great Hope to all good Men: The admirable Consent of this State to stand out, the learned Writings of their Divines against the Pope's pretended Authority, the Banishment of the Jesuits, the Sermons, some Invective against the Abuses of Popes and their Vices, by one *Fulgentio* a *Franciscan*, a bitter Opposite of the Jesuits and the Pope; some laying the general Grounds of Reformation, as the Time would bear, in the Doctrine of the Authority of the Holy Scriptures, explicit Faith against blind Ignorance masked with the Name of Church-Belief; the Grace of God whereby we are saved, the Slavery of our free Will to Sin by another *Fulgentio* a † Servite: These were great Signs, great Causes of Health. But
all

* Paul V.

† A religious Order in the Church of *Rome*, so called from their peculiar Attachment to the Service of the Virgin *Mary*.

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all of a sudden this Hope was dash'd by the Peace concluded with the Pope, which was done a few Days before my Arrival here; a Matter wrought in Appearance by the Diligence of the *French* Ambassador, Cardinal *Perron*: In Truth by the sole Authority of his * Majesty's Name, whose declaring himself for this Estate, made such an Impression at *Rome*, as they thought it Wisdom to redeem this Part, although it were with Loss of Reputation, rather than hazard all. It may be said according to human Judgment (save that the highest Wisdom is best Director of all Things) that this Peace fell out very unluckily for the Cause of Religion, which began to gain much not only in the Question of the Pope's Primacy (that being in my Judgment the main Ground of Popery) but in many others, it is the Opinion of wise and good Men here, that had this Breach continued but a Year or two longer, the Pope might have bidden farewell his Part; but now ha-

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* King *James* the First.

ing recalled his Censures, although with much Baseness, consenting to the perpetual Banishment of his chief Champions, the Jesuits; this he seems to have gotten, that he hath quenched the Spark, which, if it had a little more kindled in his House, would have fired it about his Ears.

Not long after my coming, he sent his Nuncio hither, the Bishop of *Rimini* (so is now the Old Ariminum called) by whom flattering the State with the Title of — * *Filia apprime dilecta*, he promised all that may be required at the Hands of a most indulgent Father, the State gratified him before, at the Petition of the *French* Cardinal, with the silencing of *Fulgentio* the *Franciscan*, though without any Disgrace; nay with a Pension to him and the rest who stood for their Cause, and *Fulgentio* hath the Jesuits College granted to him and his Order, where he now resideth; the other *Fulgentio* his Term to preach being expired, another of his Order is sent

* Right well beloved Daughter.

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sent by the Provincial, but of another Stamp, as bold and silly a Man as ever encumbered Pulpit : All Things seem to have returned to their old Course again, and the Door as fast shut and barred against Reformation as ever, and had not one Counsel the other Day miscarried, that I mean of killing Father * *Paulo*, all had been out of Despair, and they would have thought, if not with Love, with Fear at least, to have sealed up the Lips of any that might have spoken against the Pope's Power, notwithstanding I am of Opinion the same is irrecoverably broken here, and long it will not be ere some Change follow, a Paradox perhaps to those, who look either to the general Nature of the *Italians* or special Prudence of this State to put nothing in Hazard. But the Inducements, which lead me so to think, I will set down, referring it to your Wisdom to judge of my Conjecture herein.

All

* The Author of the History of the Council of Trent.

All Changes in Religion seem to me to come from Reason of Conscience or of State; for the former it should be necessary thereto, that the Magistrates and People in some regardable Number should be informed of the present Abuses; and they offer or these call for Redress, a great Work, and whereto much Time and many Instruments would be requisite, save that sometimes the Excellency and Dexterity of a Few, works more than the Number of many; some there are here as admirably fitted thereto as could be wished: Master *Paulo* and his Scholar *Fulgentio*, Servites both, of great Learning, Piety, Humility, Discretion, Integrity of Life, and, which is especially to be considered as to our purpose, in great Account with all Sorts and deservedly; having in the late Controversy served their Country so faithfully as the Pope conns them little Thanks for their Labour; the former for a long Time lived in *Rome*, and is holden for a Miracle in all manner of Knowledge Divine and Human, the chief Counsellor of this Signiory

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Signiory in their Affairs Ecclesiastical : The other was sometime Reader of School-Divinity in *Bononia*, the Pope's University, out of which Place he was called home, or turned out when the Quarrel began ; his Books are still detained, he is said to be an excellent Preacher, and of his Sermons, I think, came the Report which I have seen sent out of *England*, in Print, of certain Preachings here the last *Lent*, these two I know, as having practised with them, to desire nothing in the World so much as the Reformation of the Church, and in a Word, for the Substance of Religion they are wholly ours ; what Effect now the Force of Truth may have in the Mouths of such Men, I leave to your Consideration. Sundry of the Senate and Nobility do extraordinarily favour them, and their Opinions, the general Doctrines, which I mentioned before, did much Good, private Conferences have more Freedom and no less Fruit ; the Name of *Papalini* given to the Popish Faction argues somewhat, the Banishment of the Jesuits, another

no ill Sign how the Minds of Men be affected, and, although it be no small Disadvantage, that the Government here is in the Hands of so many, in such Sort as it will not serve to work one, or two, or ten, yet hath it again some Commodity, that Voices being given by Balls secretly, every Man doth freely, without Regard of others Displeasure, sway whither his Conscience leads him: Concluding then this Discourse, Reformation by that Bye-way of Perswasion of the Conscience, though slowlier, seems no way to be despaired of.

To come to those Bye-ways of Policy, which yet, I think, a Man may truly say, do more ordinarily conduct the Changes of Religion than the former, it being as the Corruption of our Nature no otherwise to love the very Truth, than as it may comport with our own Affairs, so the highest Prerogative of that infinite Wisdom, which rules us to Order or Disorder to his own Glory, and when we aim at other Ends, to effect this, it is out of Question with all that see any thing, that the likest

likeſt thing ſoonest to bring in Reformation, that can be imagined, were War with the Pope or at least in *Italy*, for as for some Schism, by the Election of an Anti-Pope, it is a thing rather imaginable than to be hoped, unless the *French* King were more sensible of the Potency of *Spain* in the College of Cardinals, than he seems to be; of War with the Pope there seems no likelihood, it is but the other Day that this Peace was concluded as thirstingly in the End by him desired as it had been rashly broken; and, as broken Bones, they say, grow stronger than before, so the Agreement of Estates their Jealousies discovered and satisfied, the World knows, that the *Venetians* are no hot Undertakers in Matters of War, a People of the Gown rather than of the Sword, their Council and Commanders of that Age, which even in them, who have been brought up in the Camp, curdleth the Blood and quencheth the Heat of martial Spirit; their Arsenal indeed is a Shop of War, but it serveth them more for the Guard
of

of Peace with the Opinion of it than with the Use; they see well that *Spain* will be on their Top if they tamper with the Pope; he on the other Side is not martial, and hoping at first to win the Opinion of Courage by undertaking, now, as Cowards are wont, fears the more where he finds Resistance; he hath no Money, he fears the *Spanish* Society will be *Lyon-like*, he hates the *Venetians* for giving this Precedent of questioning his Power, but for all that would not strenghten the other, whom he accounts too potent in *Italy* already, with their Ruin. Rather, if he wist, how would he try to wring *Naples* out of their Hands than help them to more; it is true, that when the Princes and Estates in *Italy* were many and of no great Strength, he found it a Course of Gain to continue them in Factions and Wars, and fished well himself with St. *Peter's* Net in troubled Waters; now being few and mighty he fears to break the Counterpoise, and doubts lest himself lose by shuffling; so when Peace is made and both Parts content, nay
desirous

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desirous to be Defendants rather than Assailants, what Likelihood of any Combat? As for other War in *Italy*, wherein the Pope should be partial to the Opposites of the Signiory, it must be in all Likelihood, if at all, from *Spain*: The *Venetians* know well enough that King affects the entire Possession of *Italy*, the Country by long Prescription pretending, and by its own Situation, as it were, made to be the Seat of the Western Monarchy; which now a good while the Princes have in their own ambitious Thoughts erected; it is true that after the Advice bequeathed him (as it is said) by his Father, he proceeds to make himself Master of it by little and little, by Alliances and Pensions, and such means, awaiting fit Occasions rather than open Force, and these Courses are so unexceptionable, as they cannot tell how to oppose themselves to them, it may well be these Signiors fear the *Spaniard* the more, the Tedioufness itself of which Affection sometimes produceth great Resolution, discourfing that where certain Hostility
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is looked for, he hath the Advantage who strikes first; to break with a colourable Friend is the only means of Safety, the only Peace with a cloaked Enemy is War; notwithstanding for my part, looking to their former Courses, I do not think they will be the first to take Arms, but will rather maintain still their wonted Patience, although with as good an Eye to the Practices of *Spain*, as they can: As for that Prince, beside it is said he is nothing warlike, he hath already so much Tow on his Distaff in the Low Countries, and may have more from *France*, God knows how soon, as he is not likely to stir in *Italy* without very great Likelihood of Advantage and fair Possibilities, which if he should, as the *Venetians* hazard as much as they have to lose, so they would hope for as good Partage as they might. The Pope, out of question, whosoever wars should have the worst of the Gain, so looking to the Dispositions of these Princes there is no likelihood of War, but if there be constant and necessary Causes of Dislike, if there want not some on
either

either Side to foment them, if there be daily new and great Occasions of breaking, it may be, this new Unity will be ript ere long though it be not rent, and that shall be enough to bring in this Reformation which we are speaking of here; then let us consider, that by the Pope's seizing into his Hands the Dutchy of *Ferrara*, he is become a Borderer upon this State, that they hold certain Skirts of that Signiory, which they have rent from it in the former Troubles of *Italy*, that the Pope having so much encreased his Power, it is not only a great Eye-sore, but now also formidable to them, they find the Spirit which this Success hath put into him, by his picking Quarrels and late homely Usage of them, although somewhat before himself was well provided, they consider how he is by the *Spaniard* made and used to all his Purposes and Occasions, how his Censures shall be at all Times at his Devotion, they see how he hath a great and strong part in their own Territories to use against themselves; the whole Clergy, which
are

are his professed and sworn Servants, to omit, that in the Consciences of the vulgar Sort he is esteemed a God Almighty upon Earth, so as it is a doubtful Question they use among great Clerks, whether he can err or not. These Things thus standing, it were Simplicity, in my Opinion, to think they can love him, and scorn as much to fear him. Consider now whether it be not necessary for them to seek to untye their Subjects Consciences from his Devotion, and to let them know, that if they cannot have his Indulgencies to escape the Fire or allay the Heat of Purgatory, they may go to Heaven a nearer way; and because it is found, that sometimes they who take part with others in their Quarrels, do set them together by the Ears by their Counsel, Provocation of the adverse Part, or even the Encouragement of their Presence, which otherwise out of their own Patience and sometimes mutual Fears, would remain good Friends. Let us view the Assistance of each Side, with the Pope are beside the *Spaniards*, of whom himself
yet

yet cannot be but jealous, the Jesuits, the Great Duke sometime a Cardinal of the Church of Rome, whom the *Venetians* love not, as he knows well enough, the Dukes of *Mantua* and *Savoy* obliged by the late chusing of their Sons Cardinals: With the *Venetians* beside the *French* King, whom they hope alway to oppose to *Spain*, the *Grisons* and *Switzers*, with whom they have several Leagues; their newest yet perhaps surest Friend his Majesty, there is no Doubt but if the King of *Spain* had not his Hands full already, that he might see how to get by the Bargain, he would soon both counsel and perswade the Pope to break with the *Venetians*, and therefore they stand in great Care and Expectation, what the End of this Treaty with the *Netherlands* will be, the other Dukes that I mentioned if they do any way further hereunto, it is with the Hope of their Assistance and Defence, if the Pope should be wronged more to incite him to begin to make a Stir. Unless it be the Duke of *Savoy*, who is a stirring Prince and

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hath

hath many Children, and knows he shall still be kept back by *Spain*: But let it not seem strange that I make reckoning of the Jesuits, and account them regardable in this Affair, being, as may seem, but a small part of the Pope's Power; they are a just Monarchy by themselves, mighty in Number, Possessions, many Friends, insomuch as they are not only envied of other Religious and generally of the Clergy, but almost feared of the Pope himself; and, which is not least to be regarded, they have many ripe and stirring Wits of great Ability to manage their Affairs; as to our present Purpose, they have received the deepest Disgrace from this Estate that may be, their Houses here and at *Padua* in the late Contention were searched; their good Books and Writings seized, such as themselves had not the Time to burn (as here they burnt an incredible Number, as by the Ashes on a great Heap and yet quick the next Day after their Departure appeared, which was told me by an Eye-witness

of

of Credit) themselves banished, and with special Condition in the Treaty with the Pope so to remain; these People the most malicious in the World, the boldest Undertakers, the hottest Pursuers of any Enterprize, it is not possible but they will attempt to set all in Broil, and to be revenged of the *Venetians* hazard not only the Pope's Estate but their own, without any probable Cause (as might be alledged in * *France*) having received such an Indignity. Of this Affection some Fruits already appear here, more are looked for, especially after their general Chapter, which is called this Spring to be holden (as is said) at *Rome*; where Christian Princes, especially those of the Reformed Religion (which in all this Time have not had the Mind to assemble any Council either for the general Reformation of the Church, or taking away of Differences among themselves, or not so much as to enter into

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any

* As the Imputation of encouraging the Murder of *Henry III.* and *IV.*

any Constitution for the Security of their own Persons from those Cut-throats) may expect that some such Egg will be hatched as was at their last Meeting of this Kind, which brought forth that bloody, rather than holy League; the Effect whereof poor *France* can yet report of; and that Prince put to so hard a Choice as either to forego his Crown or do worse, hath reason to remember him of: The *Venetians*, to return to our Purpose, do always look for good Assistance against *Spain* for the Recovery at least of their own, either old or new Pretensions; the *Grisons* and *Switzers* will at all Times afford them Soldiers, notwithstanding neither of these do put any great Spirit into them: The *French* also, which themselves cannot sufficiently wonder at, in the Contention with the Pope mediating for Peace. As for his Majesty's Intentions, it would not become the Reverence of a Subject to guess at them farther than himself hath discovered, the World hath taken Knowledge of his Profession to stand for the Liberty of Princes encroached upon

upon by the Pope, if nothing else, not only the former Dangers of his Person, but those perpetual of his Estate so long as for the Preachers of *Rome* he cannot be sure of the Allegiance of his own Subjects, these be no Inducements to him to seek the Peace of it: To go a little further, it were an Opinion against his Honour to think, that he doth not affect the Reformation of the Church of God, the Ruin of *Babel*. If it be said, that he is too far off to be of any great Use to the *Venetians*, some five or six Weeks sailing would bring his Navy in the Mouth of *Tiber*, or if that Course by them, who, professing to be his Friends, entertain open Rebels and Traitors against his Person, in the highest Degree should be impeached; there is landing nearer Hand. Howsoever his very Name sufficeth the *Venetians*, and as in the late Capitulation, it made them to stand the more upon Points of Honour, so doth it still animate them not to yield a Hair in all their Negotiations with *Rome*: If there were nothing else, this very Manner, compared

with the Pride of that See, would persuade that this Peace cannot last long, since as the *Italian* Proverb hath it (hard with hard makes no good Wall); but there be sundry Occasions of Breach offered already on either Side. The *Venetians* have rewarded the Divines, who wrote on their Side, with Pensions out of their common Treasure; one *Cibo* a Fryar, who having by his Sermons ever since *Easter* last, gotten good Reputation in the City, began at length to advance the Authority of the Pope, was presently banished the State; and the like Punishment had another at *Brescia*, for having in the former Troubles persuaded certain Gunners there not to bear Arms against the Pope, who finding himself grieved herewith, not that they were punished, but that they had not been reserved to him; Answer was made by the Ambassador of this Signiory, that the State did not prejudice his Holyness, but he might provide that such Persons break not out in this Kind; but if they did, They would surely see to them, that they had been too mild hitherto,

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hitherto, but henceforth would * sack
them and drown them. And, indeed,
not long after a Rumour was raised in
the City that certain Fryars, who came
to work, I know not what, Mischief
here, were drowned in the Night, a
Course of Justice in this Place not un-
lawful nor unusual. On the other Side
hath been the barbarous Attempt a-
gainst the Person of Father *Paulo*,
whereof, I know, you have heard al-
ready very particularly, many remark-
able Circumstances accompany'd it, for
the Time it was done, the very next
Day after *Perron*, the *French* Cardinal,
came hither from *Rome* returning to
France; the Person dwelt hard by the
Nuncio's House, who became by this
Means not lightly sprinkled with the
Suspicion of being privy thereto, they
fled to *Audena* the Pope's Town, and
a few Days after were seen at *Rome*;
where, as some think, they are enter-
tained as Soldiers in the Pope's Pay in
the

* Alluding to the Punishment of Parricides a-
mong the *Romans*.

the Castle of St. *Angelo*; others say, they were made Jesuits. But to have seen, how this Matter was taken, was admirable, the whole City was in a Broil, the Council often called in the Night, the chiefest of the Senate flocked to the Monastery where the wounded Father lay, the next Day the People every where in Clumps and Clusters talking of this Matter, the Professer of Anatomy and Chirurgery *Aquapendente*, a Man of great Age, Learning and Experience, sent for by publick Counsel to *Padua*, and joined with other Physicians to the Cure of the Wounds, an Edict published against the Cut-throats with a strong Tally set upon their Heads, and, which is specially to be marked, therein they are expressly stiled the Ministers of this Conspiracy, as if others were the Authors and Contrivers, beside the Priest's Head is set in it to Sale as well as the rest, without reserving him to the Pope's Correction; not many Days after when the Father's Recovery was certain, which a good while for his great Loss of Blood and an Inflammation

flammation succeeding was doubtful in such Sort as almost for a Month he kept his Bed, his Pension was encreased to 600 Ducats, and another Edict set forth for the Asssecuration of his Person in Time to come; and now by Occasion of the Escape of those who attempted so foul an Enterprize, this Day a third more general to prevent the like, which you shall receive herewith. The Nuncio at the Beginning kept his House for a great Time, and it was given out, whether truly or not, for a Colour, that he was sick; since that Time he hath received many Distastes, which would be too long to relate in particular; he hath abstained to come into the College of Inquisition because of the *Dominican* there who was one of the seven Divines that concurred in the Book against the Pope. Now whereas he is wont by Custom to visit certain Churches in the City and certain Monasteries, they have still so appointed it, that those that receive him (and once he that gave him holy Water) are the same that were Opposites in the former Times to his Master;

ster; but especially it is considerable what fell out a few Days since, one *Angelo Badianso* (~~Baduet~~) a Man of great Nobility, Alliance, Employment, as having been Ambassador in *France*, and still on the Pope's Side, for having had secret Conference with the Nuncio in a Cloyster of Fryars was committed to close Prison, and Yesterday censured to lose all his Honours, and to be made for ever incapable of any in Time to come, to sustain a Year's Imprisonment, and after, if he shall attempt to flye out of the Territories of the State, to be intended banished and his Goods confiscated; these Affronts are yet increased with the Banishment of *Marcantonio* and *Vincentio* the Fryars within twenty four Hours out of the City, within three Days out of the Dominion of the *Venetians*; it is also said, they will never yield that the Patriarch shall go to be confirmed at *Rome*, for that Matter begins to be moved afresh: So that considering these Occasions anew rubbing the old Sore ere it hath fully gotten an Escarre, it seemeth to me, that in likelihood

hood the Pope either wearied with these Disgraces will anew interdict this Signiory, and then unless he can make full Conquest of them (which, I doubt, whether he dare hope) he is here gone for ever, or else if his Back be so broad as to bear all this and more (as he must) his Authority with too much Sufferance will grow stale by little and little, and the Number of them, who desire Reformation, encreasing with their Contempt of him, that will at length fall out here, which in other Cities of *Germany* we see to have happened: The Estate of a Tyrant, always hazardous is then desperate when he begins to reign by Entreaty, and easier it is, as *Cæsar* was wont to say, to fall from the second Step to the lowest, than from the highest to the second: All great Things are unweildy to move, but once going, fall with their own Weight; never Monarchy yet, after it began to decline, hath had the Power to stay it self from utter Ruin. God himself owes *Babel* a Fall, and rather than fail, himself will descend from Heaven to
over-

overthrow it. For Conclusion, this only I add, that it is no small Confirmation of my Hope, that God's Providence and his Majesty's high Wisdom have made Choice of so worthy and fit an Instrument hereto as this noble* Gentleman with whom I now am, whose Care, Abilities, and equal Faithfulness in his Service need not my Testimony, when they have the World's well deserved Opinion, and his Majesty's Royal Approbation: Of his excellent Understanding of Religion, of his constant Zeal to further it I can speak, and when I have said even so much, yet will there be more behind than what I have said. In Summ, from him alone or from none, and from him, I hope, ere long, if God prosper his Religious Counsels, and bring them to their desired Issue, to see an End put to that glorious Work, whereunto already there hath been made a happy Beginning of bringing in Reformation into this Church, whereof hereafter (Reverend Sir) I hope to render
 you

* Sir Henry Wotton, Ambassador at Venice.

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you an Account by itself, having already with ~~this~~ tedious Discourse to the Length of a just Volume, not a Letter, overwearyed you, I desire that this may be the Excuse of it, that it stands for many, and so shall my present Fault cover that other of my former Silence: For the rest, kissing first the Hands of his * Highness, your Princely Charge, the Fame of whose Encrease in Wisdom, Stature, Favour with God and Man, rejoiceth the Hearts of all good Men here; remembring also myself most heartily to that worthy Gentleman Sir *David Murray*, and to your good self, I humbly take Leave, and do rest,

SIR,

Your Worship's ever to

*Venice, this New-
Years-Day in our
own Stile, 1607.*

be commanded

W. BEDELL.

E

LET.

* Prince *Henry*, eldest Son to King *James I.*

LETTER II.

Good Mr. BEDELL,

I Give you very hearty Thanks for your kind Letter and long Discourse, wherewith I was much both delighted, and better informed of the State of the Church there; I took you to be but a Divine, I find that it is an easy Matter to make of you an expert Politician, * *Loquor Romano more, et Sentio*. I hear you do good where you are, although not so much as you wish and were able to do, if the Times favoured you more: The King and Prince think of your Pains very worthily, which is unto you a great Encouragement, and an Honour to that worthy Knight, in whose Company you live, whom beside other Respects I must account of, even for that Wish unto the Prince in his last Letter, to continue in the Truth, which must be his greatest Crown and fairest Garland.

* I speak like a *Roman*, what I think.

Garland. I imparted unto him your Discourse, and * Jesuitical Positions with the Answers, and will impart what you bestow upon me of that Kind, for among his other good Parts, † *Dicenda tacendaque callet*. This putteth me in Mind to intreat your Help, that if you have Occasion, as it is like you may, to meet with any religious Youth who is a proper Scholar, and writeth in a good Hand *Latin, French, and Italian*, what Nation soever he be of, if you know his Religion and Manners to be good and fit for my Company, to wish him to me, although I have not present Use of such a one, yet it is like I may have, and therefore I bespeak you beforehand, that you may take some Time to try and enquire. I am not ignorant that hardly all these Parts are found conjoined with Discretion, and good Judgment; yet seeing you are in the Place whither Strangers repair (I mean.

* Those which Mr. *Bedell* mentioned to have sent him.

† He understands what is fit to be told, and to be concealed.

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mean our own Countrymen as well as others) and you are one whose Judgment I will rely upon as soon as any other's, I make bold to use you in this Point, expecting that my Lord Ambassador will assist you as Occasion shall be offered. And thus hoping that you will use me as freely and friendly, when your Occasions require your Friend's Assistance here, I commend you to God, and myself to your good Prayers, being

Your very faithful Friend,

*Greenwich, this 16
May, 1608.*

A. NEWTON.

L E T T E R III.

Good Sir,

I Send you with these, for lack of a better Present, an Almanack for a New Year's Gift, and which worse is, out of Date, as being of five Years past, but your Goodness vouchsafing to accept
of

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of the like heretofore, and to honour it with higher Eyes, encouraged me to do that, which that very Encouragement made me afraid to do; one thing only I have forgotten, which I should have given you an Account of, that is, touching the Servant about whom you wrote: I spoke to Mr. *Deodati* at his being here, and he promised me to see what might be done in that Kind, I have now put him in Mind of it, here is none that can answer the Qualification which you require: This I thought fit to signify thus apart, and with my very hearty Commendation to your good self, and to Sir *David Murray* your worthy Friend, I rest his and yours,

Most ready to do you Service,

W. BEDELL.

LETTER IV.

Right Reverend and Worshipful Sir,

IT is now a Year, since that writing to you concerning the sick Estate of the Church here, I put you notwithstanding in the Expectation to receive from me some News of the hoped Recovery of the same. I have not since been unmindful of that Promise, and if I had so, I might have been admonished thereof by the Receipt of two very kind Letters from you, with the Assurance of your Love, and good Acceptance of my former Endeavour in this poor Kind to answer it; and the Addition of greater Encouragement than ever I could deserve or hope for: But that, which the Father of Medicine says of bodily Sickneses, is here much more true * ἡ δὲ Κρίσις χαλεπὴ, wherefore as there they are wont to tarry for certain critical Days, wherein they observe the Motions of Nature ere they pronounce: So hath it been necessary to me in this Case,

now

* It is difficult to make a Judgment. *Hipp. Aph.*

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now the same being past, and portending a longer Cure, I have yet with the Opportunity of this Bearer's Journey into *England* determined to acquaint you with the like Courses that have been used, and certain no ill Signs of Safety yet remaining. Understand then, good Sir, that since it hath pleased my Lord Ambassador to communicate with me some part of his Religious Counsels for the bringing in of Reformation into this Signiory (a Matter, not only in my poor Opinion, but in the deeper Judgment of others, of singular Importance, as well for the Propagation of the Truth, and Advancement of God's Honour; wherein we are all interested in the highest Degree, as also for the securing of his Majesty and other Princes of the Reformed Religion from the continual Encumbrance, which they find by the Pope's daily practising with their Subjects by the Jesuits and other his Instruments; who, sitting hitherto securely here in *Italy*, wars with his Enemies in their Confines at their own Expense, and without his Hazard;

whereas

whereas, if there were but any Reformation began in *Italy*, he should be enforced to divert his Thoughts and Forces homeward, to narrow his Designs, and look to his own Head and Heart; and in a Word, as wise Men here think, he were fixed for ever: Since, I say, it hath pleased his Lordship to count me worthy to participate of his Intentions in this Business, and in some part of them to make me, how insufficient soever, a willing Instrument of putting them in Execution; I have observed, as methinks, the principal Scopes of his Proceeding: The first, to maintain the States here in Heart and Courage against the Pope, and that which they more fear, the Power of *Spain*, by which he is backed.

The second, to encrease the Number of those that have received any Light of the Truth.

The third and last, (if he might be so happy as to effect it) to formalize and unite into some Body of a Congregation some part at least of that great Number, which here stand already alienated
in

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in Heart and Tongue from *Rome*; whereunto, there is no Doubt, but there would be daily Access made; especially upon any new Breach with the Pope, were the same once established and on Foot.

Of these three, the former is somewhat beyond the Limits of my Profession, being wholly Civil, and beside that the means, used by his Lordship to attain it, must be his secret Offices in College, wherewith it is not fit I should be made acquainted; yet because, speaking according to Man, it is the most important Scope of all the rest (even like to the maintaining of the vital Faculty in the endeavouring to cure any bodily Sickness) I will say somewhat of it, as by Conjecture and with Respect not alone to his Lordship's Effects, but those also which other Occurrents may in this Kind have made, or be like to make in this State, in which Purpose, it is first to be remembered that ordinarily they are noted, as rather too patient in their Proceedings, than very sensible and eager; whether it proceeds from the Temper

per and Complexion of their Policy, as consisting of so many Judgments, forecasting all imaginable Doubts and Difficulties; and finally resolving into the safest Course: Or, it be rather the Election of Prudence, which is dull in the feeling of such Ill, where the Case, that may follow the Cure, is not like to be worth the Pain which must be abiden under the Chirurgeon's Hand, so it must not be looked for, that they should make so full and strong Demonstration of their Resolution, as others would do in like Cases: No, not then when perhaps inwardly it is no less: From this Patience, I account, it proceeded that beyond Expectation they were content that the Patriarch should go to *Rome* for his Confirmation, a Matter long consulted and protracted, at length yielded to the Importunity of the Patriarch himself, his Friends and Allies, furthered by all the Popish Faction, and those of the indifferent Sort that looked for the Advancement of themselves or some of theirs by him: And indeed, as I have heard some, who

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who have heard the Bottom of these
Affairs, discourse; there was not left to
the better Sort any honest Colour to re-
sist it, as being a Wrong to hold him
in this Neutral Estate, that neither he
might have the Right of a Senator for
his Election to this Ecclesiastical Dig-
nity, nor appear as a Churchman want-
ing his Inauguration, so that he is like
the * flitter Mouse, in the Fable, be-
tween a Bird and a Beast, taking Part
with either, and refused of both; but
especially that Consideration prevailed,
that by this once sending they should
be freed from the Necessity of ever do-
ing it again; whereof they were assured
not only by the Letter of the Cardinal
Burgbesse, the Pope's Nephew, who
manages all the Affairs of the Court,
and by expresse Commandment of the
Pope; but, as they required, by the
Pope's Averment thereof to the *French*
King's Ambassador at *Rome*: To all
which, the Peace was yet new, and
they were to make good that they ab-
horred not even from moderate Obedi-
ence, so long as extreme Slavery was
not

* The Batt.

not required ; and yet here it is not to be forgotten on the other Side, that when the Patriarch seemed to them to stay over long at *Rome*, they recalled him home, and finding since his Return that he especially had induced one *Ribetti*, his Vicar (one of the Divines, whose Name was used to a Book against the Pope in the former Troubles) to go to *Rome* for Absolution, they entered into Deliberation to commit him a Prisoner to his own House, but resolved to inhibit him the Use of the Faculty, the Pope had granted him, for the disposing of the Revenue of the Jesuits (being in all their Territories, as it is esteemed, above 20000 Crowns a Year) save only on such of their own Subjects, as to themselves shall, upon his Intimation of the Names of such as need it, be thought fit. The like Quickness have they shewed in some other Occasions, especially that which I account most famous, because it borders upon Religion : A certain Gentleman of the House of the *Bondumeiri* intending to take the Pardon, which the Pope sent
out

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out in Form of a Jubilee (under pretence to stir up Men's Devotions to pray for the Quiet of *Christendom*, which himself hath troubled by setting up the Archduke *Matthias* against the Emperor in *Germany*, in Truth to cover that Fraud of his; and principally to draw into his Hands the Books written against him in this State, and to heal up, if he could, the Sore perfectly) was demanded in his Confession if he had any of those Books, and enjoined to burn them; whereupon the * Fryar his Confessor, was denounced, who was presently called, and not appearing, banished: Whereof the Nuncio complaining with the || Prince, and shewing that he marvelled much that they would intermeddle in Spiritual Matters of this Sort between the Penitent and his Ghostly Father, adding that those Books could not be retained by any who would be Partakers of the Jubilee: He had this Answer, that if it were so, he should get him to *Rome* with his Jubilee, and

F leave

* Doge of *Venice*.

|| The Confessor's Name was declared.

leave them alone with their Books. The Fryar wrote after to the State, that he was falsely accused, and demanded to have a Reaudition of his Cause, which being granted on Condition to render himself Prisoner, he did so, being yet remitted to his own Monastery, but his Cause, I think, will never be called on; the State contenting themselves with the Example and Ratification of their Power in this Kind. I omit sundry like Declarations with their holding out with good Stiffness against *Rome*, which would be far more than it is at least evident were it not that the *Spanish* Greatness ever in their Eye doth curb and keep them in awe. They have lately in their banishing of the *Florence-Saicks* made no small Demonstration of their observing how much the Strength of *Spain* is like to be encreased in *Italy*, by the late Marriage of the Prince of *Tuscany* into the House of *Austria* to the Sister of the King of *Spain*, by the means of which he is become Brother to the King in Name, in Deed his Pupil, if not Vassal;

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fal; so much being to the eternal Memory of the Grand Duke his Baseness and the *Spanish* Insolence published to the World, by the very Instrument of the King's Consent to the Contract, that the Duke had supplicated to his Catholick Majesty, that for the Support of his Estate, and Strength of his House, he would be pleased to grant his Consent to the Marriage of the Lady to the Prince his Son: And if they do but cast their Eyes upon *Savoy*, they may by that Example make Conjecture what an Ally *Spain* is like to be, unless it be probable the Simplicity of that Youth of *Florence* shall privilege him from it, which the Cunning and Valour of the other could not. It is true, that the Duke of *Savoy* doth begin to distaste the homely Usage, that he finds at his Brother's Hands, that he hath married his two Daughters to *Modena* and *Mantua*, almost in his Despight, who first delayed, after hindered this Combination of those Princes all that he might; that he hath revoked his Ambassador from thence with some

Shew of Obedience: But albeit this pleased the *Venetians* well, and they have endeavoured to shew all Honour to these Marriages, and to the Prince and his Brother of *Savoy*, who were a little before entertained here with much Solemnity, they do make doubt whether that Prince would ever be induced to forget 6000 Crowns of yearly Pension, which he and his receive, with the Hopes of as much more, for the Impatience of some *Spanish* Bravadoes or Desire of new Friendships; yea, and some do make Question, whether having received the Bride or at least 4000 Soldiers divided into Garrisons in sundry of his best Towns, it be not now too late to kick at the Spur; others proceed further and say, that by these Marriages there lacks now little or nothing to the *Spaniard*, but the State of *Venice*, to the making up of the entire Government of *Italy*: The Kingdom of *Naples* and Dutchy of *Milan* are in his Hand; as for the City of *Genoa*, they doubt, if it could be of greater Benefit to him if the Name of Liberty were

were gone also, than now it is; *Lucca* is in his Protection, and hath reason to doubt, whether their old Patron will gratify their heavy Neighbour his new Brother of *Tuscany*, or himself rather with their Ruin: The Pope is, and shall be always chosen and governed by the *Spanish* Canons; the Duke of *Savoy* is his Brother Pensioner, and receives his Forces for Caution of his Fidelity; the old Duke of *Florence* cannot by Course of Nature live long, and then the like Protection shall he have of that Estate: Those of *Mantua* and *Modena* his Nephew shall in Time succeed to, the Duke of *Urban* is his Pensioner, the Duke of *Parma* and *Placentia*, with the Earl of *Mirandula*, are in the same Condition. In Summ, it skills not under what Titles, he hath already the Thing and that Royalty, that no Man will, yea, or can make War upon him in *Italy*, and he at pleasure shall begin where he sees Advantage; and if this new Conjunction with *France* should take place, or the Truce with the Estates of the *Netherlands*, what can be expected,

expected, but that the whole Weight of the War turn upon *Italy*, and light upon the *Venetians*,—the greater, if not the only Bar, left in the King of *Spain* his way to the attaining the Top of his Desires: It cannot easily be expressed in what Agony they have stood here, and yet do in the Expectation of this Peace and Truce with the *Hollanders*, and how exceedingly they distaste the Violence of the *French* King in it; they did in secret scarce abstain from reproachful Speeches, accounting him such an advantageous and cautelous Prince, as with whom, there is no dealing; whom no Man may trust longer than shall be for his own Profit: And this Language proceeds all from their Fear of *Spain*; the which, howsoever they dissemble, yet by this Anger and their other Affections it doth easily betray itself. When the Breach fell out in the House of *Austria*, it was a World to see how joyous they were, how inquisitive of the Progress of these Affairs, especially after it appeared manifestly, that this was a Plot ordered and directed by *Rome* and

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and *Spain* with the Consent of others of that House, as by the Copy of the Justification of it by the Archduke *Ferdinando*, which by good hap came abroad, doth appear; and if (as it is hoped) these Stirs do cause the Protestant Princes of the Empire to unite themselves, (as but for the Bitterness of some *Lutheran* Ministers might, as it seems without much Difficulty be brought to pass) there is nothing in this World that the *Venetians* would sooner lay hold upon, or which would more seasonably present itself for the confirming of their Courage, and diminishing of that Fear which now possesses them: Whereof there is great Reason, since having common Enemies, the Pope with those Princes, *Spain* and the House of *Austria*, they should easily be joyned by that Necessity, and firmly knit together, the Situation of their Countries being also not incommodious to help each other in all Occasions: In the mean Season, if it be true that is said, that where there is Trust there is Love, and the Degrees of that Love be proportionable to the Confidence

fidence whence it grows, if the Tongue
 be not a false Pulse of the Abundance
 of the Heart; if by the Usage of the
 Servant, there may be any Conjecture
 taken of the Respect had to the Master,
 it behoves certainly to think that these
 Signiors have placed no small Part of
 the Security of their Affairs in his Ex-
 cellent Majesty, and that the continual
 Remonstrances of his real and true af-
 fecting the Safety and prosperous Suc-
 cess of their Estate, made by his Mi-
 nister here, be the best Cordials that he
 could administer to them; which not
 only the Love, Honour, and Authority
 that his Majesty's Name hath, but the
 Grace of his Ambassador above any o-
 ther in this Place, as every mean Man
 both in City and Country doth easily
 observe, may well witness; yea, and
 over this the Desire, which I have not
 obscurely perceived, they have with any
 good Occasion to enter into more strait
 and near Bonds of Alliance with his
 Majesty; even Nature (whereunto Pru-
 dence is like in his working) being want
 to have an Appetite to that Medicine
 again,

again, which she hath once found comfortable: I add this one Thing for Conclusion touching this Point, that although this Course in them be wise, and such as, I confess, rejoyceth me much (as what should in Reason more than the Honour of my Prince) yet setting aside now that Respect, and speaking abstractly of the Courage of this Estate, even this seemeth to me to be an Argument of the Want of inward Strength, to repose much in that of another, (as it seems in Nature in those Plants which easily clasp hold on their Neighbours) which, as being borrowed and holden at Courtesy, cannot produce those Effects of inward Sufficiency, either high Resolution in undertaking or Constancy and Punctualness in resisting, when there is any Thing to be done nobly or expected undismayedly.

I come now to his Lordship's second End, which hath been, as I said, to encrease the Party opposite to *Rome*. It was doubtless, no ill Counsel of an ill Man, who advised his Fellow in Faction to procure to adjoyn to himself

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himself the Helps of all, even the weakest, and it is the Course, which the adverse Party hitherto have most constantly pursued to practise the Multitude, although they bestow more Cost on principal Persons: but a Course to be used of such who have Store of Instruments, or may be more open in their Proceedings; as for those who are skanted in the one, and watched over in the other, it is better to take them to the labouring of some few Principal, which shall draw their Dependants, than embracing a greater Number of ordinary Condition to distract their own Forces, spend Time, discover and overthrow their Intentions; especially considering it is the Course of Nature to form first the principal Parts as the Seat of Life and Nourishment, and that of Wisdom, yea of Necessity, to make the Tools before we begin the Work: Upon this Ground it hath been thought fit, although not denying to communicate Books of our Religion to any, who were found disposed to read them, yet especially to use that and all other Means.

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Means to such as are of Note and Mark for Authority and Learning: And those chiefly, who by their writing against the Pope in the last Controversy, must be thought in Reason to have their Judgments awakened, and made more capable of right Information in all the rest: And that by reading rather than by reasoning, they might soonest come to the Understanding of the Truth, was thought upon this Ground; because the Understanding is so more calm from Affection, Ignorance or contrary Opinion is not discovered, and the Reader hath Part of the Victory over Error: In the Execution of this Counsel, after I had by a Letter made myself an Entry with Father *Paulo*, I communicated to him and Mro. *Fulgentio* almost all our *English* Writers, that are extant in *Latin* touching the Controversies; with some others as *Chemnitius's Examen of the Council of Trent*, *Calvin's Institute*, although Mr. *Paulo* had seen this last for sundry Years past; the same Course hath been used to *Marfitio* (although not by me, by Reason of some secret Emu-

Emulation which was discovered between him and those I mentioned before) likewise to *Fulgentio*, the *Franciscan*, whose Revolt, because I know not if it bred greater Joy to the adverse Part, Anger here, or Marvel to my self, it may be perhaps agreeable to your Desire to understand more particularly concerning him: After it was then resolved by the Advice of Father *Paulo* that I should deal with him, and Mr. *Powel's* Book *De Antichristo* was esteemed not unfit to be commended to him, for the Concurrence it seemed to have with his own Spirit (who, as I signified to you heretofore, was in all his Sermons very vehement, and invective against the Views of the *Roman Court*) I sent the same to him accompanied with a Letter, and after came to him, discovered myself the Author of it, was used with marvellous Kindness, upon which grew sundry other Conferences, much Discourse and Trust, communicating with me many Things of his Life past, his former Troubles at *Rome*, from which, he said, when he
came

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came last away, he shook the Dust off his Feet, his Conflicts with the Jesuits, his pulling down, since he had their College and Church, the Pictures of * *Ignatius*, and others of their Order, which their Fellows were superstitious of; his reading of St. *Cyprian's* Epistles to his Brethren, in which, as he said, he let them see the Difference of the ancient Church Government and the present State of the *Roman* Court: St. *Cyprian* writing thus to the Bishop of Rome, † *Cyprianus Cornelio Fratri salutem*, no, § *Sanctissimo Domino Nostro*, nor, || *Oscula Beatorum pedem*, he shewed me some of his Writings not yet printed, as a Book of the Saints of *Venice*, with an exceeding good Epistle Dedicatory to the Nobility, handling especially the Point of canonizing Saints, which he proved out of the *African* Council, and shewed out of *Story* to be a new

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* *Loiola*, the first of the Order.

† *Cyprian* to his Brother *Cornelius*, (a Bishop of Rome) Greeting.

§ To our most Holy Lord.

|| Kiss the Foot of the Blessed.

Usurpation at *Rome*: In Summ, I telling him it was too good to be suffered to pass the Press here, he told me further of a Deliberation he had to remove himself from hence either into *Germany*, or the *Grisons*, to stamp that, and sundry other Things of the like Nature. I found him, methought, meetly well informed about the Worship of Saints, and gave him Mr. *Perkins's* Problem, which he liked exceedingly. I lent him also *Calvin's* Institute, which he shewed me that he had long been desirous of, and was as joyous when he had it, I prevailed so far with him, that whereas in a Room at the Entrance of his Monastery there hung a Picture of the *English* Persecution (as here they stile it) cut in sundry Forms of Brasse; having told him of the palpable Lying and Vanity of it, he promised me it should be defaced, he shewed himself desirous to have secret Speech with his * Lordship, whereof Offer being made when and where he would, he put it off till some

* The Ambassador.

some fitter Occasion. In the Midst of this Course it was suddenly noised that he was departed, and at first no Man knew whither, I least feared to *Rome*, till it appeared so by his Letter left to the Prince, wherein he said, he was called by his * General, and must obey, presuming this should not be offensive to his Serenity, who would look for Obedience at his own Subjects Hands, especially since he had no Part of the Counsels of the State committed to him. Immediately after the Copy of the safe Conduct, which the Nuncio gave him by Order from the Pope, came into Mens Hands, and the Voice went, that the *Spanish* Ambassador had disbursed to a Fryar of his Order, that accompanied him, a good round Sum of Doubles for the Charge of his Journey by the way at *Ferrara*, or *Bononia*, I remember not justly whether; it fell out two or three Cardinals being in the Place used him with much Respect; whereof he wrote to *Venice* that he had more Ho-

* The Head of the Order.

nour done him in three Days there, than in all the Time of his being at *Venice*. By this you may partly perceive the Humour of the Man, and verily ever from the Beginning I saw him in a strange Composition, a Contempt of Riches and outward Pomp, even to defying almost of Cleanliness, yet withal an Ambition of Honour, especially of the Opinion of a certain Apostolical Powerfulness and Freedom in Reproofs, complaining of nothing more than that he might not preach, sudden in his Resolutions, beside, as they say, who knew him better by longer Experience, close, uncounsell'd, immoveable from his Purposes: As for his Sermons, they never contained any great Stuff, which might argue Depth of Learning; but with his Goodness of Speech, Shew of Spirit, and free Reproof of great Men's Faults, he led the Multitude in the Time of the Interdict, it cannot (they say all who heard him) be easily expressed how much. I have heard it certainly avouched, that but very few Days before his Departure he wrote a
Letter

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Letter to the Patriarch then in *Rome*, telling him, that he was moved by the Spirit of God to write to him, blaming him for his long Absence from his Flock, and for his gaping for worldly Honour at the Court of *Rome*, yea, for his Journey thither, who (as he said) ought to have contented himself with the Consent of his Comprovincial Bishops without any other Confirmation. It hath been also written from *Rome* at his coming there he was well entertained, and had an Hour at a secret Conference with the Pope; mean while the General of the Jesuits being come to speak with his Holyness (as their Stile is) and wearied with tarrying so long, gave out at his Departure from the Place some discontentful Speeches, which coming to *Fulgentio's* Knowledge, he used openly this Form, nay I will anger them worse yet: To make you marvel yet more, he hath from thence, by a trusty Friend, written a Line to Father *Paulo* with good Words of myself; and sent my *Calvin's Institute*, signifying withal that he holds the other

two Books as given him absolutely, serving himself of them to good Purpose, as we shall see one Day, and perhaps ere long, complaining of the Wrong done him since his Departure, and promising to certify him of his Estate, &c. I have been the longer in this Narration, that I might give you the more full Evidence of the Possibility to resolve what to judge of him, a Thing wherein, I confess it, myself am wholly confounded. This, methinks, may be said upon the whole Matter, that this State committed an Error in not cherishing him a little more, (yea, although it had been by procuring to satisfy some way his Ambition) being such a necessary Instrument as he was to work upon the Multitude; and if not for his former Merits, yet for the need they might have of such another, they know not how soon: Which if they had done, they had avoided this Loss and Scorn; to omit the Prejudice which the Example with his Revolt hath done in their Cause in the Opinion of the People. Since his Departure, the Vicar also of
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the Patriarch hath followed, and (as it is here said) hath received a Pension of 500 Crowns by the Year from the Pope, even this in reason had not so easily been, if the other had not been before it. To return to the Means here thought upon to further the Knowledge of the Truth with the Nobility as well as with the Ecclesiasticks, it hath been considered, that to propound the same in its own naked Simplicity to Men, either blinded with Superstition, or that by the only Light of Reason discerning the Vizar of that Religion which is among themselves, have there-upon closed their Eyes to any Representation of that Sort, it were but to expose it to Contempt, and as it were to demand a Repulse: These same Men read gladly Discourses of Policy, so as under that Name if Religion could be conveyed, it were like to find much better Entertainment: And this Course some of the Ancients are found to have used, who represented the Christian Faith under the Name of Philosophy, which all Men then esteemed. Agree-
ably

ably whereunto it would perhaps be very convenient in our Times to convey the Reproofs of the Abuses and Errors of the Papacy in Politick Discourses discovering the greater Drifts thereof, which in Truth should be very just also before God and Man, that as they have a great while propounded, and set forth to the World their own Politick Devises under the Mask of Religion, so might Men see now at last their Religion in the true and natural Shape of Policy; in this Kind there is extant already in our Tongue a Work so proper to that Purpose, as if God had directed the Pen of the Author to that special End to do him Service in this Place: It is the Relation of Sir *Edwin Sands* that I mean; which being thought fit to be translated into *Italian*, I undertook the Work, and by God's Assistance have finished it this last Summer, the Fathers correcting my Errors in the Language: It hath been divided into Chapters, and in the End of some of them to add some Annotations to declare some Things therein touched: This his
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Lordship hath had in Purpose to put to the Press with all convenient Speed; some Parts of it in the mean time have been shewed to principal Men here, and, I do believe, to the Prince himself: Whereof when we should have seen any Effect, (and great it will have be sure, if wise Mens Judgments be not deceived in it) then was it resolved to be put in Execution.

The third Deliberation, which I mentioned in the Beginning, was forming some Congregation here. The chief Means, that were intended to be used herein, was the coming of Mro. *John Deodati*, the Translator of the late printed *Italian* Bibles, from *Geneva* hither; for whom his Lordship had written above a Year since by the Advice of the Fathers; but the Difficulty of the Passage in Winter, and his own Occasions after that, deferred it till *July*, and thence till *Autumn*: At which time his Lordship wrote to him to stay his Journey until he should hear further; as desirous to try first the Effect of the former mentioned Book. Notwithstanding

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ing it being come out both in *France* and *Germany* that he was shortly to come hither, he was enforced to hasten his Journey, and in *September* he arrived here in Company of a Gentleman of *Geneva*, his Cousin, and another his Nephew, both young Men, and a *French* Gentleman sent from Mr. *Plessis* from *Samure*, called Mr. *De Lugnes* : He had diverse Meetings and Conferences with the Fathers, at which both myself and this Bearer were present, he can report to you the particular Points discoursed. It was told him by Mro. *Paulo*, that not so few as 12000 in this City were enlightened more or less with the Truth, alienated from *Rome* : That yet among the Nobility nothing could be moved until there were some civil Occasion of Breach with the Pope, with them therefore, he would not, that he should yet deal, but with others, to whom he should be brought, chiefly Merchants, *Germans*, *Flemings*, *French*, of whom not long before a certain *French* Gentleman had made a List, with the several Sums they would contribute

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tribute to a Minister, that he might try the Dispositions of so many as he could: Yet for his Part he thought the Matter not yet disposed enough to receive such a Form as was to be desired, he propounded first other Meetings to be used by Way of Conference and Talk, whereby Men might come to know one another, and inform themselves better of Religion ere any Exercises were erected, &c.

Now, Sir, you shall understand that the *French* Gentleman (whose Name was Mr. *Papilion*) having indeed conferred with Mro. *Paulo*, and being animated by him to take that Pains, whether out of his mistaking him, or hoping to facilitate the Business by that Means, had used this Motive, that the Prince and Senate did not abhor herefrom, but would favour and further this Course: Whereupon the Merchants being not ill affected, and seeing no Fear of Danger, were very forward and would stick for no Money, hoping especially to do a Thing that the Signiory should take in good Part; and the
Gen-

tleman being desirous that such a good
 Work should take place, presently, ac-
 cording to the Humour of some, and
 very common to many of that Nation
 thought all done which is desired, and
 hereupon filled the Reformed Churches
 in all *France* with the Noise that *Venice*
 would shortly fall from the Pope, a
 harder Work and of longer Time, as
 well appeared even by those who had
 thus far engaged themselves, for some,
 when they perceived that they run the
 Hazard of their Goods and Liberty,
 presently drew back: So hard a Thing
 is it to follow Christ with the Condi-
 tion of the Cross and leaving all.
 Others, although making Profession,
 yet were known to live scandalously,
 and what Security could there be to
 commit to the Conscience of such Men
 a Business of this Sort? It was urged
 by myself with all Earnestness, that at
 least some Beginning might be made of
 a Congregation, although it were but
 of a very few faithful and sound Per-
 sons, which like a little Snow falling
 upon the Top of a Hill, would gather
 more

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more and more to it in time ; a Form of Separation was presented, which might serve for the Profession of such as should be admitted, and for a Confession of the Faith ; it was shewed that good Advantage might be taken of a certain short Sum of the Scripture stamped here in *Venice* in the Year 1567 before the Bible in *Italian*, with the License of the Inquisition ; which embraces all necessary and fundamental Points of Faith without any the least Touch of Popish Corruption: That for a Liturgy and Form of ministring the Lord's Supper, if it should be thought fit to use that of the *French* Churches it was already in the *Italian*, and we had the Book ; if they thought * Ours fitter, which I had shewed the Fathers before in *Latin*, and Mr. *Deodati* had seen, it should not be long ere the same should be put in *Italian*, as indeed then I had begun it, and have since finished. It was added that the Affections of Men since the Peace with *Rome* grew daily

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* That used in the Church of *England*.

colder and colder, that it was a Principle of War, that when our Strength is at the best and that of the Adversaries may encrease, if ever, we must fight; but Mr. *Deodati* thought it not fit to hazard the Whole upon so small Hope, especially considering that none of the Nobility did joyn, there wanted also a fit Person to be Minister; for both himself was none but only Reader of Divinity and *Hebrew*, and he doubted that his Travaile should be of more Use and Necessity to the Church of God in *Geneva*, than it could be here, although professing his Readiness to be employed in this Business, if he might see Hope of doing Good: The Fathers prevented my Offer of myself with saying that it was not fit nor convenient with Regard of Jealousy of State, no, nor that I should be present often at any such Ridotti, or Meetings, as we before had thought of for the second Intention; thus was that Deliberation broken off with this only Fruit, that Mr. *Deodati* travailed with Mro. *Paulo* to put more Spirit and Courage in him,
and

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and to stir him up to avail himself both of the great Graces that God hath given him, and that Favour and Authority, which he hath with these Signiors, to the Glory of God in the Advancement of the Truth. He departed also with full Information of the State of this Place, and prepared to send thither some young Scholars, who should be as School-Masters in the Houses of some who desired it, not letting pass to read the Holy Scriptures and use secret Instructions until more fit Occasion should be more publickly offered, such Success had that Journey, hastned a little too much, which we had well hoped should have brought with it the perfect Judgment of this Church's Recovery: Now as Physicians of our Bodies are sometimes by an anticipating imperfect Crisis remitted over to another critical Day, so are we. And That shall be, I hope, the Preaching of * Mro. *Fulgentio* this Lent, who is resolved leaving the Fryarly Course of the Ordinary Postillers

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to

* The Servite.

to preach *Christ Jesus*; and that will be the Ruin of *Antichrist*. There passeth almost no Day wherein we are not an Hour or two together, and under Pretence of reading *English* to him, (as indeed this last Summer I made some Entrance therein to him and Mro. *Paulo*, and having given some Rules of our Language, we read over the Acts of the Apostles together) under this Colour we read and conferred about the whole Course of the Gospels, on which he is to preach every Day this Lent; and I do perswade my self Christ is present with us, and am assured that the End will not be without some Profit. I add thus much further, that the Lord seems to encourage us by permitting the Adversaries to fall into such Errors as are proper to shew their Madnes to the World. Beside that proud and blasphemous Inscription of Fryar, Caraffa his *Thesis*, (whereof a Retract was sent by his Lordship to his Majesty) where the Pope is thus stiled—— * *Paulo* ^{5 50 5} *Vice*

* *Paul V. Vice-God.*

^{5 1100 500}
Vice Deo, and the numeral Letters whereof (as I remember I shewed to *Fulgentio*) contain the just Number of the Beast 666. There is come forth this last Week a Book, reviving that Blasphemy with Advantage, penned by one *Benedictus a Venetian*, the cowardliest Writer that ever blotted Paper; he hath taken in Hand to refute the Position of D. *Whitaker*,—that the Pope is *Antichrist*, &c. Trust me, Sir, when I first saw it, I did think verily, it had been a Draught of some well-meaning Man toward Religion; who was desirous the World should take Notice and Knowledge of the Writing he pretends to refute, and failed in the Answer on set Purpose; so beastly and loathsome is the Stile, the Conceit so childish, the Answer so absurd, the Flattery and Folly of it so palpable; in the Consultation that was here about the calling it in Mro. *Paulo*, as he told me, resisted it, but being of one of their own Subjects, who, when he could not get License to print it here, would needs
 print

print it at *Bolona*, and besides touching not only foreign States but their own, as you may see in the 500th Page, it is not suffered to be sold openly, these good Effects I do contemplate in it, first the * Position itself is made notorious, then D. *Whitaker's* Declaration and Proof of it shall be read, for it is inserted *ad verbum*; lastly the Weakness of the Answer shall confirm the staggering Reader, whom the Grossness of the Flattery to the Pope and railing against the Adversaries shall have scandalized: In Summ, I think, if the World would have studied to have done the Pope a shrewd Turn, it could not have done so well as by publishing such a bald Thing in his Favour: And how should we not then hope for Success, when God takes away our Adversaries Wits, and makes themselves do us those Offices, which we should most desire, and could hardliest effect.

Thus have I endeavoured to shew you, Sir, to the Bottom of our former Counsels,

* That the Pope is *Anti-Christ*.

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sels, present Estate, and future Hopes, wherein although my poor Desire hath not been backward, the Matter itself being of such Importance as I could wish with the Apostle to bestow and spend myself in it, yet when I look upon that which is done, it is yet very little or nothing to account of: That which is, must next to God, be chiefly attributed to the wise Conduct of his Lordship, whose Instrument only I have been in this Service: There rests no more but to commend that to your Prayers, and wise Secrecy; and myself to your Love, in the Assurance whereof I will take the Boldness also to commend to you this Gentleman, the Bearer hereof, already presented to his Majesty by his Lordship, whom beside all other his Sufficiencies (which will commend him wheresoever he comes) I esteem truly religious, zealous, and in a Word such as the wise King doubts if any may find any where—a faithful Man. And so remembering my Service to his Highness (whose Hands I humbly kiss)
and

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and beseech daily the Highest Majesty
to increase in him all princely Excel-
lencies, that (if it be not too bold a
Wish) his Name may be more famous
than that of the King his noble Father,
I take Leave, and do rest,

Your Worship's most ready always

to do you Service,

WILLIAM BEDELL.

